1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

and dominates the economy. Much of the rice culture of this area is on level plains, but in recent years the terraced fields have been pushed higher and higher up denuded mountains and hillsides. In the early spring, after the New Year, the farmer brings up his rice plants in nursery beds near the farmhouse. Then he prepares his fields by plowing and removing, in some areas, his winter crop stubble. Fertilizer is carefully spread over the ground, and then water is admitted; when the water reached a certain depth, the ground is carefully harrowed. The ground is now ready for the transplating of the young rice from the nursery beds, and this backbreaking job, done while crouching in the water, completes the Spring work. Save for repeated cultivating and trampling of weeds, the farmer has an easier life during the ripening of the grain. As the grain ripens, the fields dry, and at last it is harvest time. The harvesting and threshing are again the work of all available hands and are done with primitive implements. The harvest in, the farmer must deal with the tax collector and then ready his fields for the winter crops; in some parts of the Central-South Region, this may be winter wheat and rape; in others two or three rice crops are produced in a single agricultural year. The rice farmer, like the wheat farmer of the north, uses winter for work on tools, handicrafts, repairs, and the women of his family may carry forward their raising of silk worms, spinning and weaving of silk. In other areas, tea is an important supplement to rice agriculture.[5]

B. Annual Festivals

The farm year, toilsome in north and south alike, is punctuated by other activities and festivals which relieve some of the monotony of the long seasons of

5. On the agricultural year cycle, see excellent description in Gerald Winfield, China, The Land and The People, New York, 1948, pp. 34-61.

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work. The first of the annual festivals after the New Year is that of Ch'ing-ming which corresponds in time to the Western Easter. Also like the Western Easter, it was once a Spring fertility festival. On this occasion the ties of the living and dead members of the family and clan are celebrated. Families often take picnics to the family or clan graveyard, make food offerings to the dead, sweep the graveyards, and then enjoy their feast. All relatives make special efforts to join in this annual celelbration of family solidarity, and the outing makes the occasion a pleasant relief from winter and indoor work.[6]

On the fifth day of the fifth lunar month is the Dragon Boat Festival. This is of southern origin and is traced by Eberhard to the human sacrifical rites of the Tai aborigines of south China.[7] In modern times it has been somewhat less popular in the north than in the south. It is in the south that the dragon boat races were held on rivers and lakes. For most rural families the festival meant somewhat better food than usual and particularly steamed rice dumplings known as tsung-tzu -- a counterpart to the rice sacrifices made on this occasion to the shade of Ch'ü Yüan -- an ancient political martyr and poet of the feudal state of Ch'u.

On the fifteenth day of the seventh moon, usually in late August, is the feast of souls, the primitive origin of which has been transmuted by Buddhist belief and symbolism. It is at once a festival for the souls of one's ancestors and a community salute to the dead. Ancestral graves are cleared, sacrifices of food are made, and paper replicas of desirable ob-

6. Wolfram Eberhard, Chinese Festivals, New York, 1942, pp. 113-127.

7. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 69-96.

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jects are burned. The salute to the dead takes the form of floating paper boats with lanterns in them on some body of water, symbolizing the communities' concern that all the dead may be guided to the "other shore" -- Buddhist metaphor for salvation. Many pay visits to a nearby temple and pay for masses for the souls of all the dead, particularly for the souls of the people in the community who died without descendants to commemorate their passing. In this festival, too, special food is prepared for the dead and for the living, and the farmers and their families enjoy leisure and conviviality.

The mid-Autumn festival on the fifteen night of the eighth lunar month is basically a moon festival, and the ceremonies in honor of the moon carried out at moon-rise on this autumn night are full of the symbols of fertility and longevity. In modern times it has been mainly a festival of women, and the Old Man in the Moon is sacrificed to as the one who arranges all marriages on earth. The moon cakes, in the shape of the full moon, are one of the special delicacies of this season. This too was perhaps originally a fertility festival, and in some areas it is a popular time to make pilgrimages to nearby mountains.

These are the festivals that have continued to have the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed drastically through time and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which they have allowed to survive.

In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. A wedding meant, for those who could afford it, a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest familes made

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Mountain under the terrible summer sun, described later in this paper, would be a very serious and difficult feat for an elderly man, and another conscientious official of Anking worried himself to death because he could not prevent a plague of locusts. There seem to have been a good many officials appointed under the old examination system who were a credit to their country and their profession. Many of them after death, or even before, have received sacrifices as a reward for their former service and devotion, but a living official would not receive worship until he had been transfered to another position.

And not only do the virtues displayed in this life increase the power of the individual in the next, but the manner of death is of great importance. As death is naturally dreaded, a voluntary surrender of life, especially when in the interest of the people or in defense of some moral principle, shows the possession of a great spirit and insures power in the spirit world. Such suicides nearly always receive wor ship, even from those to whom they had lately been opposed politically. For instance, about 1360 the Mongols were driven from Anking by the Chinese armies, and the Mongol governor, his officials, wife and children committed suicide. The first Ming emperor, Hung Wu, not only canonized him but erected a temple in his honor. It does not seem as if this were propitiatory, for victors have frequently violated the graves of their enemies (De Groot gives instances of revenge by punishing corpses, *Rel. Sys. of China*, vol. I, p. 343 ff.).

Of the processes of nature that which most suggests a transference to the spirit world is burning. Fire appears to be thinner and more volatile than air, and the object burned seems to disappear. It is natural then to assume that men may gratify the wants of the dead or send prayers to a god by burning appropriate objects, for fire translates things to the spirit world. Possibly well educated men regard the process as symbolic, but the majority take it literally. However, the Chinese do not believe that everything which may be consumed by fire thereby becomes spiritual, which might be consistent but would be rather inconvenient.

Paper money, servants, horses, houses and such things are offered to dead men but not to gods, for whom petitions are written upon red or yellow

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ANCESTRAL TEMPLES

Every Chinese is supposed to be worshipped by someone after his death, at least by his descendants, though some authorities, like Reichelt, consider it only reverence. I am not speaking of funeral rites, but of the permanent cult of the dead which centers about the graves, the tablets kept in the home, and the family ancestral temple. The amount and frequency of this worship varies considerably in different families and also with the piety of individuals. The extreme minumum includes the following four observances :

1. Welcoming the ancestors back to the home from the ancestral temple, where they ordinarily reside. This takes place on some day, varying with different families, between the 23rd of the 12th month, when the Kitchen-God is sent to heaven, and the New Year.

2. Sending the ancestors back to the temple. The day is different in different localities, but in Anking it is the 15th of the 1st month.

3. Rites performed at the grave on the Ch'ing Ming, which is shortly after the vernal equinox.

4. Sacrifices in the clan temple at the winter solstice (Tung Chih).

A very religious man will light three sticks of incense every evening about sunset, placing one in a niche outside the front door, one before the Kitchen-God and one before the tablets of his immediate ancestors, which he usually keeps in a special room with an altar before them. Food is ordinarily offered to ancestors only on the four occasions just mentioned, and at funeral rites. After the service it is recooked and eaten by the family,

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or devoured by small boys. In the home a lamp may be lit each evening before the tablets.

Ancestral temples are usually found in the country at the family nest, where all the neighbors may be relatives and bear the same surname. There are, however, eight such temples in the city of Anking. They are oblong enclosures, as indeed nearly all Chinese temples are, about one hundred feet long by forty wide, and in the country are usually surrounded by evergreens except in front. The roofs are not curved. They contain three halls directly behind each other, separated by open courts in which trees are planted on either side. First comes the entrance hall, where coffins are often stored, then a room used as a school for the children of the clan or at other times as a meeting place, and lastly the hall of the ancestors. The main doors are not ordinarily open and entrance is made through a side door into the first court. On these main doors are often painted two mythological worthies who act as spiritual doorkeepers. When a man has obtained high rank in the public examinations, a pole something like a Chi Kan is erected before his family temple.

Against the back wall of the hall of the ancestors, which is also the rear of the temple, are arranged a series of shelves like rising steps, and on these are the tablets, called Shen Chu, one generation to a shelf, with the founder of the family in the middle of the highest level. The tablets are made of wood and are approximately a foot high and eight inches wide. On them is written the name of the man, his wife and male children, and the characters Chih Wei, meaning his seat or place. These two words are also found on the tablets of gods and great men. Before the tablets is a table or altar, usually of carved wood, on which are five sacrificial vessels, usually of bronze. The central vessel is for incense, the others are pairs, two vases next the incense burner, and two candlesticks on the outside. I have been told the vases are for herbs but I have never seen them there. These five vessels are found on the altar of every Chinese temple, whether Confucian, Buddhist or Taoist.

Every Chinese has in addition to his surname, which is in most cases

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TEMPLES TO GREAT MEN

Probably there has been no country where the cult of heroes has been more fully developed than in China. Practically every Chinese god is a deified hero, often a historical character. But while some heroes are worshipped as gods, many more have never received divine rank and are offered sacrifices simply for their deeds as men, not only by their descendants, but by the people generally, or by non-family groups who feel specially obligated or attached to them.

This has always been encouraged by the government, since it holds up examples of good men for public emulation and encourages virtue by keeping alive the memory of great deeds. Doubtless there is also the feeling that benefit may accrue to the worshippers from the increased power of the hero in the next world. In fact, this hero worship is the preliminary stage on the road to godhead, and may be considered a sort of eliminafion contest in which the survivors, through their efficiency in answering prayer, receive deification as their reward. The decree announcing their promotion and rank was issued by the emperor, but probably he merely gave his approval to a popular attitude which already existed. The founder of a new line, for instance, might deify his ancestors, but I do not believe a popular cult was ever established in this way, or owed its success to the fiat of the emperor alone.

However, there is a notable exception to this process of the deification of popular heroes. Confucius and the long list of his disciples whose tablets

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769 are placed in Confucian temples have been carefully guarded as men, not gods, at least in the minds of the literati, though it must be remembered that the line between gods and the spirits of great men is not always clear, and I have seen a prayer in which Yen Hui and Tseng Tzi appeared. It is a difficult thing to make general statements about anything in China, so many exceptions and saving clauses at once come to mind. Yet it remains generally true that the great writers and thinkers have not, so to speak, gone in for the supernatural and the divine. An amusing though apocryphal story of Chu Hsi, the most prominent of the Sung philosophers, illustrates the point. On the death of this great rationalist, his son went to the inner chamber, to find the coffin of his father suspended in the air several feet above the ground, without any visible support. Falling on his knees, the son besought the dead man to remember the principles he had taught all his life, and behold, the coffin gently and silently descended into its place. The worship of heroes as distinct from gods reaches its highest point in the state religion and the cult of Confucius, which will be treated in the next section.

778 769 The Huailing Hsien Chih gives the names of twenty-seven temples, usually called Tsi, which cannot properly be classed as ancestral temples or as belonging to the state. They do not have the seried ancestral tablets, whose place is taken by the tablet of the man, or group of men, to whom the temple is dedicated, but otherwise they are so like the family temples that further description is unnecessary. Often the man commemorated was an official, and the temple has been erected by his fellow provincials in Anking, for under the empire an official was never appointed to a post in his own province. Such is the Sung Kung Tsi, erected to a man from the province of Hunan named Sung, who had died while an official in Anking. Sometimes the temple is dedicated to a group, like " The Military Officials of the Province of Anhui during the Ch'ing Dynasty ". Such memorial halls are occasionally combined with ancestral temples. An instance is the new temple of the Yang family, which contains in the court before the hall of the ancestors the bricked in coffin of the late Yang Shan Teh, military governor of the province of Chekiang. In this case the position of the coffin

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is certain to be only temporary. This cult of heroes is as prominent and universal under the republic as under the empire. Indeed, an old temple, the Ta Szi Koh, is now being renovated and will be dedicated to " The Heroes of the Republic ".

In June 1921, a body of Anking students forced their way into the provincial assembly to ask for an increased educational appropriation. A good deal of disorder was created, General Ma Lien Chia called out the troops, and one of the boys was killed. This caused considerable popular feeling, the boy was honored with a prodigious funeral at the public expense, and services were held annually at the monument over his grave. Ma was recently appointed civil governor of Anhui and has torn down the monument, which he considered a personal insult. Probably the affair will lead to more trouble in the near future and may eventually result in a temple being built over the grave and the formal offering of sacrifices.

The group concerned — in this instance probably the Educational Association of Anhui and the local Student's Union — appoint a committee to sacrifice at certain times, usually once a year on the hero's birthday, though that is not always the time chosen. Many such cults last but a few years; some, like that of Confucius, for thousands. A list of these temples to great men is given in Appendix 3.

The sacrifices offered in these temples vary from a stick of incense and two candles to the Great Sacrifice described already, but in no case I know of are there Buddhist or Taoist influences, though it would be rash to say monks are never called in, and a monk may be employed as caretaker. Buddhism and Taoism have their own saints, of course, like Bodhidharma (Ta Mo), and Nagarjuna (Lung Shu), in the former and the Eight Immortals (Pa Hsien) in the latter, but these are easily distinguished from the class we are discussing, most of whom are Chinese historical characters with little or no mythology connected with them. Ancestral temples have no images or pictures and this class does not usually have them, but occasionally they appear, as in the illustration which follows.

Four temples, none of which are now standing, have been erected in

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Anking to the memory of a governor (Chun Shou) of the Fu during the closing days of the Mongol, or Yuen Dynasty. His name was Han Chien and he is usually referred to as Han Kung, or the Duke Han. His temples were the Chun Peh Tsi, the Han Kung Tsi, the Fu Chu Miao and the Ta Chieh Tsi. The following accounts, taken from the Huailing Hsien Chih, give a good idea of the progress of a hero cult in China, starting even before the death of the man himself. We may begin with an essay written by a contempory of Han, the succeeding governor, named Yu Chueh. A pathetic interest attaches to it, because a few years after it was written, the author committed suicide when the city was captured by Ch'en Yiu Liang and finally lost to the Mongols. He failed where the man he commemorated succeeded. The essay was written upon a stone monument placed in the Ta Chieh T'an, or Tsi. " Lo Yin, a man of the Ming Dynasty, recorded that the monument with Yu's essay had on the back the words Ta Chieh T'an written by Han himself. " The stone tablet does not now exist.

" In the 15th year of his reign (1348), our emperor, Chih Chen (Hsun Ti), reflected that he had not yet accomplished any great deed or benefited the people. He, therefore, ordered the premier to change the law for the selection of officials, introducing court examinations for the higher officers and provincial examinations for the lesser. He appointed chosen men as magistrates and before sending them to their posts he gave them a feast in the court of the palace. From that time all the officials emulated each other in their endeavors to fulfil the six duties of an officer, for the best received imperial recognition and promotion. The emperor was satisfied.

" An exception to the general character of officials was Han Chien, the governor of Anking, who did not seek reward. Three years after his appointment the robbers of Yin Chou and Lu An arose, and many followed them. Wherever they went they killed officials and occupied cities. The country had enjoyed long years of peace and men were grown unfamiliar with war. The cities had neither walls nor soldiers, so that whenever the robbers came the officials fled, or the people revolted from their authority. The result was that many cities passed into the hands of the robbers.

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" In the 11th month of the next year (1352), the robbers overwhelmed Susung and captured T'aihu. The officials in Ch'ien Shan removed their families and goods to islands in the Yangtze River for protection. (These " robbers " were evidently the Chinese who eventually overthrew the Mongol Dynasty. They were advancing from the province of Kiangsi northwards along the road to Peking which runs from Kiukiang through the places named. See the *Encycl. Sinica*, White Lotus Society). But Han Chien refused to leave his post. He repaired the moat of Anking and numbered the soldiers to show the people he would not abandon them.

" In the spring of the next year the robbers reached T'ung Ch'en and forced the inhabitants to join them. They attacked Anking but Han Chien led the people against them and won a great victory. However, they came again and in seven months the city was attacked eleven times, a hundred battles were fought, yet still Han was victorious. These repulses increased the fury of the robbers and they gathered a great fleet east of the city, controlling the river for 100 li. Their uproar disturbed heaven and earth.

" The army of the emperor was defeated near the Little Orphan Island and in the 10th month the robbers landed before the South Gate, where a part of the wall had been destroyed, the bricks having been used for houses. To stop the attack Han gathered the emperor's fleet, but the robbers succeeded in burning it completely, and the fire was so great that it spread into the city. Many people and even the officials were so afraid that they rushed to Han, but when they reached the Yamen and found him preparing for battle as usual, their spirits were revived. The people extinguished the fire and fought at the same time. The robbers then fruitlessly attacked the West Gate, and the next day were repulsed from the East Gate. During the night the timber of the destroyed houses was used to stop the breaches made during the day and although the robbers struggled fiercely they could not obtain a foothold on the wall.

" This brave defense enabled the armies of the emperor to reform and relieve the city, the robbers fleeing during the night. When I approached Anking I heard that the city was already in the hands of the robbers, but

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I found the rumour false. When I enquired who had defended the city so bravely, I was told it was Han. If he had deserted his post the city would have been lost. In time of peace Han did nothing to ingratiate himself with the emperor, but when danger approached he far outshone other officials, and his fame cannot be lessened. When I examined the southern districts of the empire, out of thousands of officials I found few men so able. Tzen Tsi spoke of, " Those who can face great danger without drawing back " (Analects), and Han was one of these. There were six hsien under Han's control, Huailing, Susung, T'aihu, Wangchiang, Ch'ienshan and T'ungch'en. The people were brave and loyal, and were able to defeat the robbers because of the ability of Han. Oh, how much he accomplished !

" Ten days after I arrived the robbers came again with a large force and Han fought with me against them. A long time has elapsed since they retired defeated. The government made a record of Han's achievements and gave him the degree of Chung Feng Ta Fu, the second class. His officials also were promoted. I therefore called his hall the Ta Chieh T'an, in order to show Han's virtue.

" Riots and peace follow each other as night follows day. When the men of future generations stand in this hall and think of Han, they must remember the great danger he faced and what he accomplished, encouraging themselves by his example. So the name I gave to the hall not only honors Han, but will be a stimulus to the people. "

This T'an or hall was not apparently considered a temple, but later was made into a Tsi. The next steps in the growth of the cult are seen in the following brief quotation.

" At first Han Kung (the change of name is significant of greater reverence), had no temple dedicated to him, and it was not until the reign of Ming Ch'eng Hua (1455-1488), that he began to receive sacrifices together with Yu Chung Hsuen Kung, (Han's successor, Yu Chueh), in the Yu Chung Hsuen Kung Miao. Later an official built the Fu Chu Miao.

" An official of the Ming Dynasty, named Hu Chang Chun, found the bones of Han Kung and buried them outside the Big South Gate beside the

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river. He built a Tsi over the grave, calling it the Han Kung Tsi. It was rebuilt during the reign of K'ang Hsi (1662-1772), and again in that of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796). By that time the tablet (Mu Chu), had been replaced by an image. Tradition says that there were two images of Han Kung, one outside the West Gate and the other at T'aihu, copied from that at Anking. The temples were burned down in the 3rd year of Hsien Feng (1854). During the reign of T'ung Chih an official, Wu K'uen Hsiu, repaired the tomb and enclosed it with walls. "

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The following poem was written by Lu Choh of the Ch'ing Dynasty and placed on a stone tablet in the Han Kung Tsi.

An empty temple by the side of the river
To which the waves in their fury dare not come.
On entering the gate old, green pines appear.
These straight, aged trees fill one with respect.
The monks wear well worn robes
To which the water and clouds have added their colours.

In the ancient time of Yuen Chih Chen
The valley was filled with disorder.
In the army was a man named Han
To whom later ages pay fear and respect.
He lost his life for his country
In a last great act of fidelity.
Even now the people of Anhui
Sacrifice and remember his great deeds.
Then they turn their eyes to the cold river.
Where he fought in the old days.

Even as clouds make the earth shine like a mirror
So the deeds of Han Kung remain in the memory of men.

The tomb of Han Chien is still to be seen beside the river, and

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169 cannot be altogether forgotten, for a few days ago I stood looking through the gate and an old man, seeing the interest of the foreigner, told me a long story about the duke, a large part of which I regret to say I could not understand.

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whose temples are found everywhere, and who is worshipped as a god of literature and riches (Dore, vol. VI, art. 4) besides being the patron saint of several provinces. 717 718 794

Moreover, the positions of Confucius and Kuan Kung are different. The former is usually considered as the perfect man, while the latter is a god in full standing, and usually has the word Ti, the sign of divinity, added to his name. Both were historical characters and the facts of their lives are well known.

In a brief account it is not possible to go into the list of names commemorated in the Wen Miao, nor is it necessary, for it has already been done by Watters, but we can consider the cult of Confucius as a part of the state religion in the provinces, even though most of the facts are familiar.

A. — Confucius and the Wen Miao.

Confucius is the form in which the early Jesuits latinized the words K'ung Fu Tzi, or K'ung the Master. His personal name was Ch'iu, but being taboo, it is never pronounced, while in writing the character a stroke is omitted. He was born in 551 B. C. and died in 479 B. C. In his day the Chou dynasty was declining and the power lay with the feudal lords. Confucius became a minister to the prince of his native state, Lu, which would form a part of the modern Shangtung. His reforms and the uprightness of his character soon forced his resignation, and he spent the rest of his life wandering from state to state with his disciples, and editing the works which have become the classics of China. It does not seem that he himself wrote more than the Spring and Autumn Annals and some appendices to the Book of Changes. There are many accounts of his life in English. The few facts I have given are taken from Giles *(Biog. Dict.*, K'ung Chiu). 82 769

As to the position Confucius holds in the hearts of his countrymen, the words of the great historian, Szi Ma Ch'ien, are as true today as when they were written eighteen centuries ago.

"Countless are the princes and prophets that the world has seen in its

Szi [Errata: should be Szi-ma. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116--Analyst]

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time; glorious in life, forgotten in death. But Confucius, though only a member of the cotton-clothed masses, remains among us after many generations. He is the model for such as would be wise. By all, from the Son of Heaven down to the meanest student, the supremecy of his principles is fully and freely admitted. He may indeed be pronounced the divinest of men." *(Ibid.)*.

Confucius himself felt his mission to have been a failure, yet his memory was honored from the first. His immediate disciples mourned at his grave for three years, and his lord, the Duke of Lu, built a temple for him, where sacrifices were offered until the time of Ch'in Shih Huang (221-210 B. C.). While he did not receive honors from the emperors until three hundred years after his death, his position must have been of great importance or Ch'in Shih Huang would not have burnt his books *(Encyl. Sin.*, Confucius). Under the Han dynasty which followed, the system of Confucius proved of greater value than any other, and with some lapses, has been adopted by the state ever since.

From the Han on, every dynasty has paid honors to the sage. Among the various titles are the following :

T'ang, 640, Hsien Shen Li Fu.
— 666, T'ai Szi.
— 739, Wen Hsien Wang.
Sung, 1012, Chih Shen (Most Perfect Sage). This was given by the emperor Chen Tsung, and has been confirmed by later rulers.
Yuen, 1308, Ta Ch'en Chih Shen.
Ming, 1530, Chih Shen Hsien Szi K'ung Tzi.

In 1233 the title of duke (Kung), was conferred on the representative of the family and is still continued, and under the empire the Duke K'ung ranked just below the imperial princes. In 1294, Kubilai Khan gave large estates to the family, which it still holds. Many emperors have sacrificed in person at the grave of Confucius, and every Hsien city must have a temple in his honor, where the officials sacrifice. This worship was discontinued

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for a time following the establishment of the republic in 1911, but it was resumed in 1913, and confirmed the next year in a mandate by Yuen Shih K'ai, who was president at the time (Giles and *the Encyl. Sin.)*.

Foreign observers have always differed as to whether the sacrifices to Confucius, to ancestors, and to great men generally are really religious, so it may be worth while noticing two instances where competent Chinese authorities have given their opinion. In 1700, the Jesuits requested the emperor K'ang Hsi to state what the worship of ancestors and of Confucius meant to the Chinese, and he decided that it was not religious *(Encyl. Sin.*, Rites Controversy). Again, in 1914, Yuan Shih K'ai declared, against the Confucian revivalists, that the ancient rite of worshipping Confucius had nothing to do with religion *(Ibid.* Confucius).

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What they meant probably was that the Chinese did not regard their ancestors and Confucius as gods, but although this is likely true, the worship or reverence paid to men fades so gradually into that offered to undoubted gods, that it is impossible to draw a clear line between them. Monotheism creates an enormous chasm between the Almighty and humanity, which cannot be found in Chinese religious conceptions, where the ascent to divinity is relatively easy. The sacrifices and the ritual are so similar that while both extremes may be clear, in many cases it would be impossible for the worshipper himself to say whether what he was doing was a religious or merely a reverential act. Opinion will continue to differ about instances, but I feel justified in treating ancestor worship and the Confucian sacrifices as religious observances because the same rite is used as in the worship of unquestioned gods like Shang Ti.

On the whole, the humanity of Confucius and his followers has been carefully guarded. Parker *(Studies in Chinese Religion*, p. 221), says that in 500 the Wei dynasty of Tartars ruling at that time in North China prohibited barren women from praying to Confucius for children, and doubtless many similar instances could be found. The attempt of the Manchus in the closing days of their rule to make the sage a god was a sop to an increasingly hostile public opinion, and never was effective. Moreover, there never

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812.769771 has been a Confucian priesthood, images are infrequent, and divination is never practiced in Confucian temples (*Encyl. Sin.*, Confucius).

Under the republic there has been a movement among the literati to make Confucianism definitely religious, or to maintain that it always has been so, and it was against this movement that Yuan Shih K'ai's mandate was directed. There is a society called the K'ung Chiao Huei, which holds services in the temples on the birthday of Confucius. This is separate from the state worship, though in Anking nearly all the officials belong to the Huei. The movement does not seem to be a popular one, and is confined to a section of the literati. A handful of people attended the last birthday services in Anking. I was present, representing Bishop Huntington, of Anking, who had been invited by the society, and I took part in the observances, after stating clearly that I did not consider Confucius a god. This would seem to show that even this society considers what it does a national and patriotic rite, rather than a religious one, but as I said, it is difficult to draw a line. It is strange that Confucius is not the god of literature, but that place is filled by Wen Ch'ang.

346 The Wen Miao, usually called by foreigners Confucian temples (K'ung Tzi Miao), are also known as P'an Kung, because of the ponds which are always found in the first court, and as Hsioh Kung, or temples of the scholars. They consist of three courts, with buildings between, running in a north and south direction. All the walls are painted red. The main hall is behind a terrace above the second court. The entrance to the first court, which would be the south gate, was not built until a man of the district had achieved the rank of Chuan Yuen. This was the title given to the first place in the national triennial examinations in Peking, and so was the highest honor a scholar could obtain. As in most pretentious Chinese buildings in the old style, a large " Spirit Wall " was placed opposite the entrance. Though these walls are found in most places, ancestral temples in the country do not seem to have them, and they are not obligatory anywhere. Anking has both Fu and Hsien Hsioh Kung, but the latter is almost in ruin, and it is the former that I will describe.

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gods. That which is the medium between or brings together, men and gods. To offer flesh in the rites of worship; to sacrifice with victims ". Most foreign authors have followed his example. For instance, in translating into Chinese the Book of Common Prayer, the word Chi is used for sacrifice in the Prayer of Consecration of the Communion Service. It would seem that Legge is mistaken in so limiting the word.

B. — The Kuan Yo Miao.

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In the military temples (Wu Miao), the place of honor is divided between Kuang Kung (the Duke Kuan), and Yo Fei. The former is also called Kuan Ti, the word Ti meaning god. While both these men and the lesser heroes commemorated at the side altars were noted for military ability and courage, the characteristic quality which has led to their honor by later ages is loyalty, and this note is struck throughout the temple.

Kuan Yu (died 219), was one of the heroes of the Three Kingdoms period. He was the friend and supporter of Liu Pei, the ruler of Shu, and with Liu Pei and Chang Fei, took the " Peach garden oath " of brotherhood, which they all kept faithfully, although Kuan was often tempted to desert by Tsao Tsao, the rival of Liu. Kuan was noted for his fierce mien, enormous stature and strength, and for his red face, which is a feature of most of his pictures. After romantic adventures which have made him one of the national heroes of China, he was finally taken and executed by the general of his enemy Sun Ch'uan. (Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, p. 383).

Doré (vol. VI, p. 79) gives a very full list of the posthumous honors bestowed upon him, whose dates show the continuous esteem in which he has been held, and the growth of his cult. They are : 260, when Liu Pei's son gave him the title, " Chuang Liao Hou " (Brave and faithful marquis), 583, 676, 1008, 1096, 1102, when he was made a duke (Kung), 1128, when he became a prince (Wang), 1330, 1522, 1594, when he received the title of god or emperor (Ti), and 1856, when he was honored as Fu Tzi, which placed him on an equality with the greatest men of civil and literary attain-

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ments. This last honor was given because of his assistance in putting down the T'ai P'ing rebellion. Doré gives eleven names by which he is known. At present his official title is Kuan Shen Ti Chun, which may be translated as " The Holy God Kuan, the Commander ".

His temples are very numerous and are not limited to those of the state. Besides being the god of war, he is worshipped as a god of literature and riches, and as the patron saint of the provinces of Kuang Tung, Kuangsi, Hupeh, and together with Wen Chang, of Chekiang. It is not likely that this list is exhaustive. Richard (Calendar of the Gods), gives his festivals as the 13th of the 5th month (his birthday), the 24th of the 6th, and the 5th of the 9th. His son, Kuan P'ing, and five attendants, are also worshipped. Doré says that incense is burnt on his altar on the 15th of the month, but I cannot find that this is done in Anking, or that sacrifices are made except those of the state, which are on the 15th of the 2nd month and the 15th of the 9th. Kuan Ti is said to be very popular in Korea.

The second of the two heroes, Yo Fei (1103-1141), was distinguished as a general and a patriot during the reign of Sung Kao Tsung. After displaying abilities in quelling insurrections and in resisting the Golden Tartars which might have proved the salvation of his country, he fell a victim to the intrigues of the infamous court favorite, Ch'in Kuei. On his back were found written the words, " Loyal to the last ". His honors were restored in 1162 and more added in 1179. The national parliament raised him to an equal rank with Kuan Ti, and they receive sacrifices at the same altar (GILES, p. 949).

Yo Fei is the hero of a popular novel and of a play, at whose performance it is not uncommon for the whole audience to burst into tears. There is a story that once a spectator, overcome with excitement, leaped upon the stage and killed the unfortunate actor playing the part of the villain, Ch'in Kuei.

The temple of the two great soldiers is called the Kuan Yo Miao, or the temple of Kuan and Yo. The Hsien Chih says that formerly the temple was small, but in the reign of Ming Wan Li (1573-1620), it was enlarged and a record made. The T'ai P'ings burned it, but it was restored under T'ung

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APPENDIX 9

Ancestral Tablets.

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Without counting the gravestone, there are three kinds of tablets used in commemorating the dead.

1. The temporary soul tablet, called Ling, a gaudy affair of red paper 靈 with the name of the departed in gilt characters, which is used at the funeral and is burnt after one year.

2. The permanent soul tablet, usually called Shen Chu, but sometimes, 神主 in the case of great men, Shen Wei. If is made of two flat pieces of wood 神位 about six inches high and two wide, set on a stand in such a way that they fit together as if they were one piece, the inner overlapping at the top. The outer face contains a line of eleven characters down the center, beginning with the name, and ending with the word Chu, the character whose dotting is 主 described by De Groot. In the lower left hand corner is a name, usually that of the eldest son, the "Continuator", The inner face has the same eleven characters in the center, while on the right is the date of birth, and on the left the date of death. The number of characters must be the same on both sides, and must be odd. This tablet is not placed in the ancestral temple, but

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remains in the home, where it receives regular worship or reverence. Usually it is placed in an elaborately carved wooden case. It is the tablet of one person only. 211 769

3. The tablet in the ancestral temple, called Shen Wei. This is a single 神位 flat board a foot high by eight inches broad, also set on a stand, and placed on the same shelf with others belonging to the same generation. It has the names of a number of persons, perhaps as many as ten, but no dates. I have not found any distinction between men and women, the latter appearing in their husband's temple. More detailed records of the family history are kept in books at the temple.

So necessary are these tablets that various devices have been adopted for unusual situations. In Anking there is a public home for destitute old women, and in it is a temple containing the tablets of inmates who have died without any family. Children are often adopted in order that the worship may continue. The custom has even spread into Buddhism, and Buddhist temples may preserve the tablets of their monks. At the Yin Chiang Tzi there is a hall devoted to this purpose. Doolittle (*Social Life of the Chinese*, vol. 2, p. 227) describes "no offspring altars", where the tablets of families which have entirely died out are placed.

Besides the graves and tablets, persons of distinction, both men and women, may be commemorated by halls or temples, by P'ai Lou, or stone arches, and by large stone slabs set on the backs of tortoises. The temples contain P'ai Wei. Confucius therefore has several hundred tablets scattered over the country, which to me seems evidence that only reverence is paid him since there is no doctrine of omniscience or "Real presence" which would enable his spirit to be in so many places at once.